



THE BETRAYAL OF FREEDOM

A STUDY IN NEHRU'S POLITICAL IDEAS

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FOREWORD BY
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Dedicated To
Mrs. Sarah Jane Haidu
The Living Voice of Liberty

"I have never known anyone who will work so hard on behalf of a virtue as for a beautiful face"

• CONFUCIUS.

The note of the present epoch is that so many complexities have developed regarding material space time and energy that the simple security of the old orthodox assumption has vanished. The eighteenth century opened with the great confidence that at last nonsense had been got rid of. Today we are at the opposite pole of thought. Here is our what seeming nonsense may not tomorrow be demonstrated as truth"

PROF WHITEHEAD



FOREWORD

THE last Great War was fought and won on the slogan of emancipation of the subject races of the world but the slogan remained a slogan and in this War fight for democracy has become the new and declared purpose and motive of the Allies.

Freedom is a magic word and its application to human life, individual, national and international, is a problem which will probably remain with humanity while it lasts. At present the struggle is for the universal restoration of freedom and not merely to maintain the freedom of those who have had it and lost it or have struggled to preserve it

Shree Krishnamurthy in his book goes beyond the immediate future in the examination of the problem and comes to the conclusion "that only pacifist co-ordination of interest would be a reality. (of freedom)"

I cannot claim to have studied the question from the higher spiritual point of view so I must leave it to be discussed and understood on the basis of the ideas contained in the

book. For a long time to come the world problem will have to be tackled on a material basis and when that is solved the spiritual problem will really come to the fore in the present state of things the spiritual aspect of the problem of freedom has a tendency to become only a personal problem and remove the individual from his duty to his society and to his country

In Shree Krishnamurthy's view the solutions proffered by experiments in the Western World do not go far enough. The reader of this book would thus realise that these are the two great problems awaiting solution. He has material enough in this book to undertake their solution if not of solving them.

In conclusion I must say that the book demands careful study and provokes profound thought and if an author can achieve the ends, he has served a great purpose and rendered a real service

19th February 1944

Banabhai 2 ~

*Stern was the face of Nature we rejoiced
In that stern countenance for our souls thence drew
A feeling of their strength.*

Wordsworth.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

SOME modern writers contemplate talking rats and philosophic dogs. These fantasies are absurd. Only man is capable of conceptual thought. It would be more fruitful if they device techniques not to humanize animals but to superhumanize men.

Today the sea lilies and the sea cucumbers are extinct because they pushed their life into blind alleys. The human species will suffer a similar fate if it fails to choose the path of progress in the evolutionary maze.

Biologists tell us that speech, tradition, proneness to laughter and being continuously sexed constitute the unique properties of man. But the full attainment of unification of mind and social existence can be brought into potential being only when man has freedom. Liberty unlocks new possibilities of advance. Compulsive thought will goad man to move like the donkey between the two piles of hay, balanced in irresolution.

The satisfied powers are opposed to the writ of moral values running throughout our planet. According to them, creative intelligence, higher standards and absolute freedom should be confined to "the post-mature people." They are only trying to snare man, to dehumanize and betray him. Their fear of freedom has led to the fear of the uniqueness of man.

This monograph aims at making an approach into Nehru's heart and mind. This has been done, not in order to furnish fresh chatter about freedom but solely for the light which Nehru's thought sheds on the many facets of this elusive subject

For a full understanding of his faith I have found it necessary to analyse also the conceptions of speculative thinkers. The positive aspects of Nehru's faith strikingly emerge in his quenchless words on freedom. This sure and noble faith has deep value for all men and for all time. If I have brought to this study the qualities of understanding and sympathy they are due to Prof. S. Srikantha Sastri's valuable guidance.

I consider myself very fortunate in securing for this monograph a Foreword from Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai whose acute mind has seen most deeply into the heart of politics. Let me express my gratitude to him.

I owe the most direct inspiration to Mr. M. A. Maister in whose encouraging words I have found echoes of my own enthusiasm. My cordial thanks are due to Mr. Ratanji Jetha, Mr. Motichand Kapadia and Mr. M. Subba Rao whose friendship and co-operation to me has been valuable. Mr. R. K. Prabhu has given himself endless trouble to elucidate any point on which I consulted him. It is also a pleasant task to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. N. G. Jog, Mrs. Mani Sahukar and Mr. K. S. Ramachandra. My grateful thanks are due to Mr. Counselor for permission to reproduce the rare photographs in this volume. Without the co-operation of Mr. D. H. Parker and Mr. C. N. Paramesvaran the publication of the book must have been long delayed. In every case where I have asked for help Mr. G. R. Iyengar has given it in full measure.

G. D. Krishnamurti

*The song I sing to myself
Is both sad and merry
The old grief is smiling in it,
And joy is weeping there*

CHARLES VILDRAC

Preface

I HAVE an emotional bias to twist and untwist the same rope. My excuse is the theme that is developed in this brochure is of urgent relevance at the present turn of history.

The war has made a fierce assault on our sense of values. Thinkers and politicians have found themselves on the edge of a contradiction. They prize toleration but foster divisions. They claim that the New Testament is on their side but see in violence the promise and pledge of victory. Head-hunting among the pagan tribes is un-Christian and the liquidation of men in Europe is a more charitable occupation in Christocracy.

The pacifist believes in absolute love. The disciples of Christ condemn him as a spiritual anarchist and lead him to the cell. It is the glory of man to express ethical certainties in life. No plea of lesser evil or political necessity can justify man in abandoning the way of love. The individual

who lives by the precepts of high religions can not participate in the devilry of war

A just ordering of human life is the outcome of more ethical vision. Man dimly feels the need of illumination from subsidized bishops. If morality has decayed into convention it is because the Church represents "the Tory Party at prayer". The Church has failed to shape man's social destiny. It also has failed to reflect the light that is to rise on nations.

No religious divine protested when the punitive peace of Versailles was signed. What a relief it would have been if the Church had opposed the use of poison gas against the Abyssinians. The devout would have ceased to despair if the Church had repudiated the rule of one nation over another nation. It was boastfully indifferent to a high religious potentiality. In essence, the Church betrayed Christ and broke man's dreams.

Man is still in bondage while the means of release are within his grasp. Unless he is taught how to be effective he cannot lay the foundations of Utopia. The integration of the self is a cure to man's totality of troubles. This means he must free himself from the distressing urges and motives. Inner peace is possible if only the complexes which interfere in myriad guises with every aspect of man's life are sublimated.

To-day men of religious or irreligious labels have begun to question the very meaning of

human life. The chilling doctrines of mechanization of life and collective man have destroyed the intuitions of the human spirit. The value of this economic materialism may be assessed from a notice posted in an American factory "Don't waste the time of the machine."

The rhythm of contemporary history is formed of crisis, dictatorship and war. A disorganised social structure produces mental disintegration in the individual. Social regression reverses the old scale of values. This regression can be seen even in a bee-hive when the queen dies. Instead of collecting honey the individual bee loots the neighbour's hive. Similarly, a partial dissolution of the social order unmasks ideologies and destroys established values. In such a crucial hour new social fixations like Fascism capture the loyalties of the frustrated individual. In his distress man follows the prescribed pattern. He prefers the symbol to the real; the conscious citizen becomes the gesture adult. In this tension-system clenched fists and flaming slogans like "For God and Hitler!" become a new social reality.

The peril of Europe to-day is not so much political oppression as symbolic integration. Nazism has developed a new type of group-cohesion. In the Nazified Europe the symbol of security has a stronger appeal than the idea of freedom. Freedom is a lost paradise. They would like to remain in a regimented society. Their trained hatred

will increase the tendencies towards national glory, self-sufficiency and racial arrogance.

The dictator's power rests on manipulated patterns of thought. While in a democracy ethical judgments are valued as part of man's spiritual heritage. The one factor which might bring about the downfall of dictatorship is the assertion of the older motivations in the mass over the new symbolic strivings.

To over-stress individualism and to ignore the social side of the mind is to pave the way for a lop-sided life. In our diseased society cultural self-expression is confined to a thin elite. The mass have no access to means and they are not encouraged to make an effective use of means. The social policy does not rest on a social value. For the concept of social mind is rejected as a mystical vapour.

The present social crisis must be assailed on the level of the values. The world of to-morrow needs creative institutions. Then the social framework must be regarded as the realistic human unit. In such a developing community economic efficiency becomes a social value.

In a world of social tides and rising aspirations a dynamic of social judgment must be created. It must take into account the clamant social necessities. This crucial test awaits the wisdom of the post war planners.

The forging of the social instinct into a social purpose implies an altered perspective. It means that individuality should choose the widest social good as an ideal. Without a social conscience a constant recognition of the social interest is impossible.

A social future is barren without a social will. To grow freely to a new social stature the people must be free. A social cohesion forced from above on a slave nation will be seared by the frost of indifference. A purified social conscience can arise out of a politically emancipated people.

In the pluto-democracies there is organised insecurity. Palliatives like Beveridge Plans cannot remove crying wrongs. Ponies and preparatory schools, nannies and nurse-maids are dedicated to the cause of the governing class. The vested interests are an open sore in the body politic.

When a man's hunger is unsatiated and his dwelling verminous it matters little if he is beautifully free to vote. Religion has proved an excellent bromide for keeping the working-class secure in their misery.

The argument that the material basis of life determines the social ideas corresponds with fact. But the exclusive emphasis on the brute material circumstances determining the historical epoch is untenable. If life is a mere scramble for material goods then why should we protest if Hitler forces the Poles to freeze in cattle trucks? Slo-

gan-shouting, polemics and the manufacture of disloyalty would be inconsistent with the determinist doctrine. It would be consciousness setting out to affect existence. But inconsistency does not worry the communist to resort to the asperin. He feels that if he shouts a slogan through the megaphone often enough it turns into a fact. He works for chaos so that out of chaos he might leap to the wheel of power. However, the prospect of lamp-posts being decorated by swinging capitalists is cold.

Determinism denies spontaneity which is the essence of moral endeavour. It is equally true to say that slavery extinguishes the moral life. The dull rattling of the chains of serfdom cramps a rich flowering of the human spirit. Chaos will be less chaotic if the obsolete doctrine of imperialism goes by board.

But the British see the hand of God in the imperial map. Their spokesmen feel that indirect rule is the tutelage for freedom. These reactionaries are blind to the lesson of history that a low view of freedom leads to a petty view of life.

Insincerity has made the tone of these prophets of democracy false and their message untrue. They cannot inaugurate "the new seasons of the soul" unless they relate the soul aright to self-determination.

Let us examine the sufficiency of their arguments. They contend that when the enemy is at

the gates a swift and profound mutation in the existing order is disastrous.

Our freedom is not opposed to responsibility. It is not lazy acquiescence in Japanese or any other aggression. Says Nehru

"when we talk of free India becoming an ally of the United Nations it is obvious that we should be partners with them in this war. Indeed the last meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha adopted a resolution which definitely stated that the Congress proposal for British withdrawal from India was not meant to embarrass Britain or the other Allied powers in their prosecution of the war or in any way to encourage aggression against India or to increase the pressure against China by the Japanese or the Axis powers. There can be no question then of a separate peace or arrangement by anyone in the country, leaving our Allies in the lurch. A free India of course means that Britain has completely shed her imperialism and that the United Nations stand for ending colonial domination. India must work heart and soul for the United Nations to defeat all the aggressors and bring triumph to the cause of freedom as represented by the United Nations. In such circumstances, it will be a betrayal to leave that cause and the company of the United Nations by separate and opportunist arrangements with any country. India of course is anxious to see complete freedom in all the Asiatic countries."

The charge that the choice of a free India would be unpredictable is mean. Nehru expressly says that he would help the democracies in their present quandary.

The enemies of Indian freedom talk as if they have a prophetic prevision of our actions. Human action which is guided by enduring values can be predicted as correctly as the return of Halley's comet. Indians have always acted with purpose, seeking a moral end. No further explanation seems to be needed.

A free mind has potencies while an unfree one is inert although living. It follows that man is unique only when he is free. Nehru consistently maintains

"We would fight in every possible way, both non-violently and with arms, by making it a people's war by making the war our primary consuming passion to win the war and by fighting heroically like Russia and China. No price would be too big to pay to achieve our success against the aggressors."

The antithesis of freedom is compulsion. The sense of freedom springs from a desire to achieve the state of emancipation. The liberated slave will be bewildered first but soon will feel the sweetest delights of his life.

Therefore, it is legitimate to argue that retrained conditions will lead to the stunted growth of a people. A man is thwarted when his intentions are frustrated. Compulsion means to forcibly override what is normally possible. Rulers apart, even the social conditions might intimidate the individual.

Without restraint freedom cannot exist. Restraint necessary for ordered progress is not op-

posed to freedom in an intelligible sense. But this restraint should be the consequence of free-men's choice. There is freedom wherever there is the power of effective choice.

It is a dubious inference to state that self-determination means isolation. Gandhi has taught us two lessons; first, to use new opportunities for an adopted purpose; and secondly to make self-determination effective the mind should be self-regulated. Therefore, the action of a free India can be foreknown. Our choice would be uniquely determined. Gandhi observes:

"My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing. I should regret that patriotism which sought to count upon the distress or the exploitation of other nationalities. The conception of my patriotism is nothing if it is not always in every case, without exception, consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large."

"Not only that but my religion and my patriotism derived from my religion embrace all life. I want to realise brotherhood or identity not merely with the things called human, but I want to realise identity with all life, even with such things as crawl upon earth."

"Interdependence is and ought to be as much the ideal of India as self-sufficiency. Man is a social being. Without inter-relation with society he cannot realise oneness with the universe or suppress his egotism."

The moral fact is stubborn. Our freedom-demand is congruent with the moral fact. To the

Die-Hard it is hard to break bad habits but it is not impossible

Gandhi's political grammar centres round the idea of creative ends. Man cannot fully tap the creative power if he is spiritually insensitive. A sense of unity is the beatific crown of an integrated life. But there can be no such crown without a cross. By raising the human activity to its highest dimensions in creative selfhood man can unfold a healing virtue in himself. Says Walt Whitman "They unfold to you and emit themselves more fragrant than roses from living buds, whenever you fetch the spring sunshine moistened with summer rain. But it must be in yourself. It shall come from your soul. It shall be love."

The masses are either propitiated or manipulated. The socialised state propitiates one segment of the masses i.e., the proletariat. In to-day's dawn of socialized religion the loss of self knowledge and self-criticism is increasingly felt. To fit the Nazi scheme of things history is falsified and values are distorted. The basis of this new religiously felt Germanism is psychical rape. The worship of Lenin in Russia, the spirit of self-dedication in Germany and the hard won victory of *toleration in democracies* may be traced to a religious impulse. According to Gandhi, the religious impulse should be canalised to pull the chariot of man's destiny along the path of progress and renewal.

The happiness of the human species is conditioned by man's control of his internal environment. A progressive surrender of man to the complex feelings which bathe him that has denied him his natural birthright of grace and goodness. Science and religion have fallen apart and man must recreate new modes of religious expression in the light of new scientific discoveries.

It is fatally perverse to infuse new values into fossilized minds. Man can be "the Columbus of a new Continent" only by his entire faith and acceptance of altered conditions. Then only he can give ultimate vivification to life.

In a planned society all the controls are manipulated by the government. The non-use of force will make the state to collapse into anarchy. The use of force lacking the loyalty of free men ends in tyranny. To be at once collectivist and free the link between politics and religion must be recognised. Otherwise, men will not accept regulations and feel themselves free. It is not the formal framework of democracy that matters but the spiritual meaning of democracy which transmutes human robots into an army of free men. Gandhi observes:

"Democracy disciplined and enlightened is the first thing in the world and democracy prejudiced, ignorant, superstitious will lead itself to chaos and may be self-destroyed."

A universal political order is possible if men are inspired by the feeling of sharing in a tre-

mendous political experiment. The thoughts of manifest destiny can forge a new solidarity, which can outlive the varied hates and sufferings. Freedom is a collective emotion, which excites men to common action. Only this mass emotion can serve as a basis for democracy.

The democratic society will survive if men are united in the service of a purpose beyond themselves. The democratic action should aim to let light and air into chambers darkened by negations and grinding misery. If man wakes up day by day with a taste of ashes in his mouth he feels thwarted in the self giving he craves. It tends to dull his response to the forces and fervours which animate great causes and which he can express with a tidal grandeur. Yet a humanity magnificent in its impulse, however bruised with privations speaks in Nehru.

It is said that the English ideal is the defence of innocence in distress. An Englishman might thread the streets in patched clothes and baggy trousers but chivalry is in his blood. Upheld through centuries it is now evolved into a thing of gleaming glory. England is a land of dear souls because an explorer goes out into the waste of snows or a soldier wades through blood, in this true tradition. It is also one of the boasts of England that it taught nations how to live.

But an Englishman now presents a very unflattering spectacle. He surely embodies serene certainty and inspired calm. He is ready to die

in the last ditch for the democratic ideal. These virtues will undoubtedly add few more cubits to the moral stature of any breed of men. But is the Englishman true to the moral code he has set himself? His faith has degenerated into self-righteousness. Because he is blind to the failings of his statesmen the imperial bond has become a surgical bandage and not a fellowship of nations

Here is the hysterical cry of Dorothy Thompson "This remarkable and artistic thing, the British Empire, part Empire and part Commonwealth, is the only world-wide organisation in existence, the world equalizer and equilibrator, the only world-wide stabilising force for law and order on the planet, and if you bring it down the planet will rock with an earthquake as it has never known".

The reflection that history urges on us is "Sceptre and Crown must tumble down". The subject races have thrown off the yoke and triumphed into independent statehood. In a modern empire the discipline of law intensifies the craving for independence. It is the destiny of an empire to perish. But in that very process of dissolution it can remake the institutional mould.

To-day the democratic statesman needs the highest qualities of conscience. His arm-chair devised proposals would be as futile as the dictator's outstretched palm of hate, if he loses sight of the eternal truths. He must remember the

revealing sentence of Burke "What shadows we are and what shadows we pursue"

The pluto-democracies have betrayed freedom and therefore betrayed man. And given the chance they will betray further

Freedom in its ethical level is an evolving cosmic process. The ideal of national freedom once achieved ceases to be an ideal. It becomes the earlier instalment of a higher process. By transcending itself it prepares the way for the emergence of a wider conception of freedom, non-national and therefore universal. The freedom we demand is precisely a freedom of this kind. By actualizing it in our own lives and by our own effort we would like to transcend it.

Freedom is for Nehru "the flower and crowning blossom of the plant" And the flower must be formed of what is most vital in soil, root and leaf. Nehru is undetachable from freedom. Freedom is deathless. It has the power of self renewal. Strip the old bark and the green stem and acid sap reveal themselves. Freedom at any one period is the consciousness of a people awakened or slumbering at that period. Faith in freedom is the mark of the more conscious man.

With the developed Nehru the meaning of freedom enlarges. Its Left Wing properties are refined in the crucible of consciousness. Thus it

becomes more than a property, a doctrine. In Nehru's view the ascent affirmed by freedom is limitless. It becomes an adequate goal of human endeavour when the soul is purged of every element of self. He observes "I would be glad to lay down my life for China because China stands for civilization " His vital words mirror a culture and an evolution which make him feel in China's distress his own distress. Nehru, who has inspired our wishes and awakened our hopes, says "We want to gamble with fate and we will do it bravely " The passion for freedom wells up in his heart, the passion to which he is never fickle. The wronged races twine with the chant of his soul. Truth grows truer. On to freedom! He blastically says "Let us take a plunge. It is a stormy sea. Either we emerge as freemen or go down".

*Though an empire fall, the world will remain
Always ready and bounded by the same frontiers
Though our world, in its turn, be shattered as it courses
Space will still be there with its clusters of worlds.
For there is only one drama the Passion of the Universe.*

RENE ARCOS.

1

THE critic who touches the hem of Nehru's robe springs refined in his own thoughts. Nehru's thought life is pure Nehru's. He is not doomed to wander in an empty dream. In Nehru we are aware of the self, a noble self conscious of his own destiny.

Sometimes he moves away from Gandhi, i.e. he returns rather to himself. This is a brief but great creative moment. Soon he realises that freedom has come to self awareness in Gandhi. His moralism might perish from the world of time but it cannot perish from the world of Eternity. This sudden glint of apprehension which comes to his eyes draws him into the vortex of Gandhi.

The idea that the supreme and commanding Nehru emerges out of a confusion of conflict and



apprentice-work is repugnant. It is more credible to say that his mind is receptive before it is active. It follows that the assumption that because Nehru is a supreme leader he must be supremely individual becomes questionable.

A perfectly flexible power shines through him. It is the capacity of submission, submission to a code of values, to a cause that never dies. In these days of power-politics men who sell their birthright for a mist of ambitions are in legion. Their realism is a bluff.

Nehru cannot face Kipling's world of Tommies or Henley's world of chloroform or Gandhi's world of Charkhas. It is a lank and jaded world. Still he has no disloyal thought toward Gandhi. Gandhi is, for him, "a sensation". This sensation is always spiritual. It touches the very core of his genius and links him to Gandhi.

The duality in Nehru is due to the opposition between character and personality, between self and identity. While his character is fixed his personality is evolving. It is an opposition between the become and becoming. His character fascinates us; but his personality concerns us.

The geneology of his opinions and successive beliefs shows that Nehru has evolved. His active intellect has en-Nehruized the new truths that were in the air into part of his feelings—part of his nature. He knows that growth turned back

on itself is decay. If the sapling of a tree meets with some obstacles in the course it simply changes the direction of its growth. Changes in man and society, urgent for expression, must be recognised.

Men persecute their former opinions because they seek not the truth but self importance. In the case of Nehru his vision enlarges the circle and he gets out of it. It is happy tuning of the giant harp of thought, prior to its harmony with action.

It is true that he has allowed socialism or Gandhism "to take hold of him with giant hands. The cast of his thought may be same as others but the ore in it is different. He may lack the metaphysic of Gandhi or the gymnast doctrines of Marx but he knows enough theories to be used as brain-conditioner. Further the fundamental aims of Gandhi are equal to his own in depth and purpose. The first smell of Soviet Communism has intensified and not cramped his individuality.

Deep thinking is possible only for a man of deep feeling. By keeping the heart alive in his head Nehru has escaped from the dogmatism of creedmen and gained the lively certainty of the crusader. His youthful charm is only his appetite for effective action. In the nineteen forty four s Nehru stands as an evolving man on the threshold of change.

The future grows from the present, it does not accrete, it is shaped by the true prophets, the true scientists and the true statesmen. As the anticipator of trends, Nehru is one of the first few men of the New Order. The leaders of mankind are calling with rare candour spades spades. But they have not shown equal courage to call the greatness of the human soul greatness. That is why, their action has tended to dim the lamps of freedom which illumined human souls into the flicker of a glow-worm which lights modern wickedness. It is Nehru who has struck in us the glorious first spark which tells us that man by building a neat little world within him can build a brave new world outside him. He has bound men's will to a more essential will—the will-to-freedom.

We cannot pin Nehru down either to Gandhism or Socialism. In more than one way he is strangely un-Gandhian. He is indifferent to religion because his heart is single and he is complete in action. Being a daring thinker he is not afraid of speaking now from one pole of his being and now from another.

"We must shake the doors of life in order to test the hinges and the screws. Let us set forth! What can equal the splendour of her red sword, which flashes for the first time upon our secular darkness."

MARIANETTI.

2

NEHRU'S political impulse rests on an immanent principle and not on arbitrary reflection. Freedom to him is form, because he contemplates it, it is life, because he feels it. It at once becomes his condition and his action. At some stage there takes place in him an actual interpenetration of the sensuous and the rational and of receptivity with activity. Freedom then becomes absolute and supra-sensuous. Thus his thought passes from beauty to truth. It becomes compatible with existence in mind, in feeling and in utterance.

The laws of Nature and history will thrust on us our freedom whether we like it or not. The political agitator has a definite function to fulfil in this history of freedom. First, he must convince the people that they are in bondage. Secondly, he must hold up a vision that freedom would open up new forms of life. Thirdly, he must proclaim aloud that a contented slave is still

a slave. Finally, he must banish illusions of weakness which are self-defeating.

The loss of freedom is felt when an individual experiences that freedom is real and attainable and feels that he is prevented from realising his intention. There is an inherent tendency in men "to cut off their noses to spite their faces". This irrationality accounts for the impossible possibility of freedom.

Freedom is won not by destroying an available scapegoat but by ordering the relationships of persons. Then only it would be possible to bridge the gulf between what can be intended and what can be achieved. Freedom provides a common end to work and the co-operation for its achievement keeps the personal and group relations at a low level of tension. Freedom is a practical issue and it becomes a real issue when it is denied or obliterated. It remains obstinately unachieved so long as the personal nexus on which it is grounded remains unaltered.

A philosophy which has a disregard for concrete situations is inept. The idea of freedom will remain progressive till it accepts the facts of a changed environment. The basic vision of life will not fade out if it is constantly reinterpreted.

A frigid political climate leads to ossification of ideals. A deeper analysis will show how the

modern has an obligation to be national in so far as it integrates human personality and he must be international so that it leads to the integration of the social pattern. By uniting the basic vision with the potentialities of a new situation the individual can accelerate the historical process

Problems like the control and distribution of power, basing the social system on spontaneous controls and the inarticulate craving for greater freedom and lesser responsibility admit no easy solution. The evolution of a power structure in harmony with the moral standards is the task of the future political scientist. Some kinds of interference in their wild growth lead to Fascism, while their proper utilization develops a higher type of life

Without self-discipline a planned society can not be democratically controlled. The political leader must assume the role of teaching the masses the reoriented concept of freedom. He must show them the difference between one system which enforces the technique of pressure and the other which encourages the technique of self regulation. He must above all exhort them that freedom would flee where self-control is absent.

*Time, our time, full of promise, a dear
Fluid crossroads where embanked roads meet
Beautiful magic in which the real has affirmed itself
Through the interlacing of vast goodwills*

GEORGES PERIN

3

NEHRU by his sacrifice no less than by his genius, has vindicated the place and value of freedom in the evolution of civilized man. By so doing he has followed and also stimulated the growing tendency to find the truest reality in that which has a meaning and an influence within the sphere of human life.

If the ancients were great by limitation the moderns are great by infinity. To force the thoughts of the contemporary man into ancient moulds is to become naive and sentimental. Therefore the movement of ideas and forces in the world is profoundly connected with Nehru's springs of life and thought. In this sense, he is the very centre and standard-bearer of the moderns.

It is profane to confine the magnificent profusion of his ideas within the narrow confines of a political formula. To assume that the full har-

vest of his immense activity is due to his politics, while confessing that other principles are active outside its pale, is suggestive but logically impotent. Therefore, an analysis of his dominant political convictions would be a new step in scientific comprehension.

Nehru has caught the spirit of the masses and the living beauty of his ideas has sprung from it. He feels the broken but eternal power of that great totality. He sees strength where others see ruggedness. His soul is filled with a complete impression when he observes that giant-spirit active even in repose. This concrete content grows with his life and mind. In truth, the spell of a beauty that is devoid of content is broken for ever.

The absolute standpoint is the key stone of the entire arch of Nehru's political thought. It negatives the idea of irrational conditions in a systematic universe. It rests on the conception of human freedom, not as opposed to Nature, but as rooted in it. Historically speaking the faith and courage implied in such an attitude is characteristic of the modern spirit. The modern is never simple, but he is always charged with a conflict, with a history. Nehru's spirit is modern, absolutist and reflective in the sphere of politics.

The subordination of the symbol to the import, of the sensuous to the ideal and of finite to



the infinite is the texture and medium of modern life To the Greeks the world was a fixed system without progression The modern man is taught to regard the universe as a world of change and movement. His life is founded on history, on world-evolution

To ascertain in what impulse Nehru's political thought originates and to what need it corresponds is not to show otiose curiosity To analyse the expression of his thought will be a necessary pendant to analyse the kind of its content. In one word, the indwelling property of his ideas is the expression of his profound ideal feeling

Passion lames the utterance of a politician But in Nehru it stimulates his expressive power A life that has behind it five thousand active years of art, religion and philosophy is bound to win its freedom and with it an infinite capacity for making mistakes.

*They told us we had believed
We had hoped
We had fancied that peace would certainly come
We had looked forward for the end of hatred,
And yet
My brothers, when shall we be brothers?*

HENRI MUGNIER.

4

NEHRU looks at the external world with free and friendly eyes. However militant he appears a sense of reconciliation is active in his breast. We may adduce two reasons for this, first, his profound sense of unity with the world, and secondly this unity rending itself in a struggle necessary to realise the full depth of his ideal.

The speculation of an age either issues from the teachings of the past or centres round the actual world issues in the present. To gauge the flowing tide of Nehru's political speculation one must examine the forces of the international society in their deepest reality

It is only the simple truth if we say that the modern speculative thinker derives his political conceptions from the doctrines of 1789. He takes up the thread of reflection after paying lip-ser

vice to those out-worn ideals. In this immense interval political consciousness has traversed an enormous distance. The landmarks, however few and distant from each other, may be set up in this movement of mind and history.

The conquest of time and space in the eighteenth century witnessed the heyday of liberal optimism. In the restless calm that followed the western world was absorbed in the exploitation of the weaker races. During the last twenty years the totalitarian state sprang up to solve the problem of mass power by force. The weekend shocks it gave intensified the destructive character of the crisis.

The system of alliances and counter-alliances is the necessary outcome of power-politics. It has become an historical truism to identify England's secular policy with the grouping of forces and stabilising their balance. The balance of power in Europe meant the independence of several states and the preponderance of any one power threatened this independence. In a game of power-politics backstairs methods of diplomacy are legitimate. The march of events in military time-tables and mobilization outstepped the inter-communication of powers. Retortion, military reprisal, and the culmination point in this rising scale of power-war are the weapons in the armoury of power diplomacy. The race for raw materials and markets and the resultant friction is also a vital factor. A policy of politico-

economic expansion is congenial to this philosophy of self-interests. War becomes, in the aphorism of Clausewitz, politics continued by other means. In such a "mischiefed realm" peace and war become indistinguishable. The world balance fails to gain relative universality.

The split loyalties, the chasm between the lived word and the written word, the anxiety which way the winged-cat would jump precipitated the long decline and winter of the west. The inspired prophecies of Mr. H. G. Wells that the Naval Agreement at Washington would bring about definitive peace and that an open conspiracy of the supra business magnates was the path to Utopia proved massive illusions. This major prophet swept his readers from one deceptive fallacy to another.

Nehru alone of his contemporaries foresaw and foretold the growing menace of the servile state. He sensed a corrupt bargain for the defence of privilege by the appeasers. He first saw that the British were not a frightened people, not yet a servile people, but a complacent people. He knew that one Englishman was worth half-a-dozen foreigners on the tennis court. But he stood at the very heart of the crisis and proclaimed that the growing scepticism about the fundamental values would result in the eclipse of democracy.

The problem of democratic control is the task of 'making the community more truly a commu

nity'. A democratic temper, which equalizes by degrading, leads to the cult of incompetence. A true democracy must combine appreciation of expertness with a reverence for the common humanity. The modern state is a monopoly of brute force. A social ethics which retains undemocratic elements like economic privileges, inadequate education and class dominance needs the apparatus of compulsion. By getting rid of the undemocratic elements compulsion can be curtailed or eliminated. Therefore, the true democrat must be a pacifist. Pacifism is not indecisive woolliness. A society, where everyone lives in harmony with everyone else, is not worse than straightforward anarchism. To-day, man lives physically in death's shadow. But out of that shadow a stream of life-affirming benevolence will flow if the selfishness of each works in the interests of all.

*Life is there sonorous knocking at the door
With great fist blows of sunshine.*

JOSEPH RIVIERE.

5

THE spirit of man is degraded into a blind instrument of a tyrant's will to-power. Organised power has become the master and not the servant. The revolutionary maniacs as well as the democratic bosses, armed with new psychological weapons, are able to manipulate the masses to their will. The challenge to democracy comes from "the never-ending audacity of the elected persons". They have turned the human soul into the motor of their grim purpose. Therefore, the present crisis is a spiritual catastrophe which strikes at the moral roots of the western society.

The forces that can yet save mankind are sealed up in the narrow vaults of the disastrously out-of-date nation-state. The creative activity of beauty and expanding love is the essence of God. A living faith in it constitutes the spiritual force. The racial politics has maimed the spirit. It has given uniformity not unity, order, not

creativeness. It has produced human sheep by denying the choice of ends, the very breath of a seeker.

Man has lost much of his relish for the "pulses of rage" in the convulsions of pain. A lament for "a great healer" has begun. The common man wants a Christ and the Church cannot offer him. Says Middleton Murry

"Yet I believe a real Christ could be offered to men—a Christ who is real at the level of a modern apprehension, who speaks to a modern need, who is a guide in our modern perplexity and lightens the darkness of a modern despair. A Christ in whom we believe as a man, who loved and taught and suffered, and in whom and through whom we discern the nature and power of God—such a Christ, I believe, could save the world even now. He would be among us as he was among us nineteen hundred years ago, he would walk our streets, he would gather us into companies, he would smile and be sad, he would restore to us our lost simplicity and we should forget our fear."

To believe that war would sweat out the poisons of a selfish materialism out of the body of our developing society is to nurse an illusion. To believe that out of this anguish a creative peace and a new social cohesion would arise is to read too much meaning into the placid meeting of three old men at Teheran. The war has increased the power and inflamed the appetites of those who manipulate the mass. Peace is born only when the aroused conscience in the

nation weighs down the habits of inhumanity. If men have become the "helpless supple-Jacks" of politicians it is because they are imperfect masters of themselves. Because they lack creative ideas they are harnessed to the destructive ideas of others. Their comradely sentiments are changed by subtle propaganda into mass brutality. The tragedy of man is that his instinctive virtues of loyalty and self-sacrifice are exploited in the service of ideas of perverse maleficence.

It is not enough to save democracy. It must be made real. It must be redeemed in the hearts of its members, who as Blake declared, should become members of the "Divine Humanity—the One Man, even Jesus."

Elegancy and golden cadence of rhetoric can never press dramatic expression into doctrine. It can make truth scorn her own image. By chance or by freak of tradition such words may go to the unreal making of things. For a moment the machinery of spiritual values may be thrown aside but its essence will always survive as a permanent gain of civilization. Values cut and thinned down have asserted themselves with added force.

Mr Churchill vehemently asserts that he is not there to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. Can he derive his strength by the liquidation of the ideals, the values of human souls and the significance of their destiny? It is

not the quantity mania in production which guarantees ultimate victory but the spirit which permeates the enterprise that serves as the living basis of success. The leaders of democracy think that hatred is creative, an end in itself. A world in which the ideal of freedom is betrayed will surely be flooded by that "fabulous formless darkness"

It is absurd to think, as is often thought, that a world worm-eaten by imperialism is the arsenal of freedom. Such a world of pseudo-ideals and dummy-life has nothing in common with the world which the hope and meditations of our forefathers visualized. The ideal that gives motive and significance to our actions is freedom. In Mr Churchill's impudent proclamation we have the germ of a political feeling which shows how the democratic ideal of toleration, disinterestedness, universality and freedom is destitute of content, destitute of the positive import of those forms, on the contemplation of which political action arises.

National socialism is devoted to the idea of a "closed state". Its will is dynamic will and it always maintains its free initiative. This will is crystallized in the will of the leader. He is the ego behind this egoism. Complex of ideas like historical memory and life-space, are translated into fact and act. The *Weltanschauung* is a mystical faith in a philosophy of life. It springs from contemplation and not from reflection. It de-

pend on an ever ascending cycle of intuition. Vowed to totality, it possesses the fluidity of quick-silver. Its dictum is "whatever helps the people is good." It is a new reign of subjectivity "the revolution of nihilism."

Under the assault of this new movement a movement of integration, democracy has already lost its nerve. In a totalitarian state maximum of integration in the internal life of the community is achieved by enthroning one interest or group. Further the ideal of autarky seals up its national economy. Thus the community is turned into an inter-locked machine.

It is not a false opinion that the new black-art of mass-suggestion is the fundamental character of the Nazi craft and fancy. It would be idle to deny the ultimate import of this phenomenon. Unfortunately the leaders of democracy have their feet firmly planted within the compass of chicane and naive moralism. They have become the legitimate prey of moral censure because their ideals have become subservient to a sensuous end. For fraud, however pious, cannot be equal to morality.

*At present the world is a huge slaughter-house,
Men are killing one another, and are using slaves,
Saltpetre and steel*

MARCELLO FABRI

6

THE genius of Nehru has invested the national thought and emotion with progressive significance of the idea of liberty. The concept of liberty is an element of the social aspect of goodness. In the historical times it has grown-up from the tap-root of the status of a free man to a branching tree of a scheme of human values.

To the nationalist the freedom of the State includes and realizes the freedom of the individual. The liberty which the socialist seeks is economic liberty, and he seeks it for the proletariat. Socialism has now its own Left, Centre and Right-Wing. The Socialists of the Right advocate the bourgeois ideals of liberty. The socialists of the Left are prepared to sacrifice liberty for security. The anarchist dreams of the absolute, unqualified liberty which is above law and organisation. To Nehru political liberty means that the issue of a state's common life should be determined by the common thought and will of all its members.

The claimants for liberty are many and the things claimed in its name are also many. In its positive sense liberty includes the right of the individual to think and advocate his own thoughts, to form and pursue his own tastes and to be unfettered in the sphere of his own work. It is an erroneous idea to contrast economic liberty with political liberty. Political liberty is the mother not the handmaid, of economic liberty. However in this battle for liberties there must be an ultimate claimant. Then liberty should be a condition which the individual personality should possess so that it might elevate itself from what it is to what it can be.

The liberty which Nehru claims is moral liberty. Without the interplay of like-agents the idea of moral action becomes unmeaning. Therefore, he desires to historically determine the new social spirit and absorb human activity within a universal framework.

Soviet Communism is inadequate to Nehru because it does not create the desire in the individual to control the effect of social surroundings. The test of freedom is spontaneity.

Freedom is contingent on democracy. But in a mathematical democracy there is the tyranny of brute number. The pluto-democracies lack the tug and thrust as they have failed to respect in others what they value in themselves. Their perverse vision has diminished and not enlarged

the area of moral liberty. Only by sharing their impulses they can forge wills for their attainment. Then will for the good becomes a matter of national volition.

In the dreams to which Nehru has given all his heart and genius there is implied a world revolution. He is a political thinker of youth and he is not in danger of being neglected by middle-age because he has fortified his ideas with scientific interest.

Nehru has watered with blood and tears the tree of liberty. May be next spring the flowers will come up near the ruins, near the wreckage where the flames were the cruellest. The hour before the dawn is a crucial one. It may herald a false dawn where life ceases to shine and ring

The principles inspiring a community are the bedrock from which community life springs. The formulation of a declaration of rights fortifies the spirit of a people. Therefore, a democratic community must proclaim and practise the rights of man. In the past the refuge of the individual from the encroachments of the State has been institutionalised by framing a Charter of the Rights of Man. In essence, these declarations are designed to protect the right of freedom enjoyed by the individual in isolation, in conjunction with other individuals and the individual as a citizen. While guaranteeing personal

freedom within the defined sphere they also safeguard the political rights of the individual.

The French Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789 enumerates liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression as "the natural and imprescriptible rights of man." Rule of Law means everything that is allowed by law

The drafters of the Russian Declaration of the Rights of the Toiling and Exploited People of 1918 have emphasised the socialist rights as well as the social duties of the individual. The Right to Work, the Right to Leisure after Work, and the Right to Material Security rank in the foreground.

The Weimar Constitution of 1919 represents a compromise between the Western catalogue of rights and the Russian collectivist approach. A mere declaration on parchment will not confer the reality of power on the individual. In America the interpretation of the fundamental rights is entrusted to the judiciary. But the judicial decision is influenced by the economic and social philosophy of the guardians of the constitution. The rights of freedom are commuted into a moat for the bastion of vested interests

Nations, as collective entities, enjoy fundamental rights such as, the rights of existence self preservation, equality, independence and territorial supremacy. But without a revitalized

international law these principles cannot have any visible effect.

Some sudden converts from the camp of power-politics are now advocating federal union and a new declaration of human rights. The Declaration advocated by Mr H. G. Wells is compounded of the American, French, German and Russian patterns and it emphasises individualistic rights as against the community.

The leading theorists hold the view that only on the plane of the Commonwealth that justice can be established. To narrow effectively the realm of the rule of force supra-national governments with power superior to the nation-states and with direct control over their inhabitants are necessary. In a federal structure the freedom of the sectional group is preserved, a balance between authority and liberty is struck and matters vital to the community are centralised. It is as much a reaction against centralism as against particularism. Further, it is a lively compromise between the independence of myriad states and their consolidation into a monolithic state. In other words, it reconciles a certain amount of union with a certain amount of independence. Then only nationalism can be equated with the needs of a super-state. It is vital to remember that true federalism is unthinkable without self-government and equality of status and strength among the member states. A constitutional heterogeneity between the federating

units will not result in a consensus on fundamental values

Tolerance of intolerance is not a principle but its perversion. The heritage of Greece and Judea can be preserved if statesmen and thinkers evolve a federal pattern which will not be a mere thin disguise for the hegemony of the white races.

Spiritual essence is a co-ordinate element in the excellence of democracy. The leaders of democracy have remained outside the world of spiritual awareness and are foils to it. If Christianity is swept into the crisis of democracy it is because the Church betrayed Christ. It became subservient to nationalism. It failed to repudiate the authority of nationalism when it pursued internecine warfare. Thus its claim to universality was built on a hallucination. It created a chasm between itself and the historical life of the community.

The bases of love will be infinitely extended if reflection passes from the beauty of the Cathedral to the beauty of Christ. Then only man will know the way, the truth and the light. The vision of a man will be sharpened for the appreciation of a society of men and women knit to Christ in the bond of love if the divorce of ethics from politics does not continue. The idea that the spirit of Christ must find a place in the political structure is no doubt hard to accept. But the

world-transforming power of spiritual values shines through the pages of history.

The Christian contribution to political thought is the principle of human equality, an equality which transcends and not denies men's differences. It taught mankind that the true basis of power is service. The eternal meaning of Christianity lies in its message of the perfection of moral ideals and the imperfections of social standards.

The evil that surrounds us to-day is the evil of our own making. The realm of spirit is open to all men, and it is so near to them. They should enter it before they are fatally maimed. But in spite of frustration, bitterness and deep discord suffering has made man more human than ever he was since the dawn of history.

Unity must spring from within, nourished by a creative impulse. Then only man can create and sustain a world based on collective social justice. The one valid alternative to the road of debasement is a return to the moral springs from which new ways of life flow, springs from which seers like Buddha, Confucius, Christ and Gandhi have drawn their strength and hope.

See I am strong O my love
And, with a confident tread,
I walk along the flower-decked road of lovely to-morrows.
NICHOLAS BEAUDUIN

7

THOUGH this is a dark hour in history, man should not surrender to it, must still essay stable peace. All the democratic statesmen show a zest, but it is contaminated with bravado, canniness and malice. They try to pretend away their own gloating selfishness. The Four Freedoms are a lofty beautiful thing but where are the institutions to guarantee them? A new civilization was not born when the Atlantic Charter was framed. Its vagueness, loopholes and archaic phrases made us feel that the new order is not worth our hope. The key word there is disillusion.

Speculative thinkers have showered a host of blueprints on a bewildered public. Some of their lay-outs of a remade world are ingenious, some others are near to nonsense. They exhort us to hang our trust either on the British Empire or on the Church of Rome. It is still more interesting to notice their arrogant mentality. The

very principle of unity is hardened into something Anglo-Saxon, at all events into something British. Reality must mean abiding faith in imperialism. The dismemberment of Germany and the retention of colonies are not absent from their views to which elimination of trade rivals and possession of cheap raw-material sources are the necessary complement of peace. And thus the vision of these thinkers is dislocated from its moral meaning.

Unilateral disarmament, military occupation, reparation and delayed economic recovery in the vanquished countries will not dig the foundations of peace but will dig the graves for the victims of the next world war. A super-Versailles will bring forth a super-Hitler.

The end of the state is, as Aristotle says, "the good life." Its function is to remove the disharmonies which threaten the common life of the community. The idea of a human and beautiful life for every individual is a democratic ideal. The reformer thinks of the franchise, the poet of sentiment, while the artist is more conscious of art and has less of it. A diseased social condition reacts upon the joy of life. It also denies the operative ideals which sustain a state. In a democratic state arts may never have flourished in perfection but they have remained in forwardness. If man has eyes for the solidly coherent sequences of Nature then only he can recognise in it his deeper self. This image of the idealised

self should enter into the world life, enriched with the feeling of harmony

It is worse error to neglect the essential link between the content of ethic and esthetic. Esthetic insight has an enduring influence on ethical ideals and political patterns. It is the depth of feeling that is brought to bear on matters of daily life that constitutes the soul of esthetic. This expansion of the self removes contradictions in man and society. Then man will cease to be savage, ugly or grotesque. He will work from within outwards, with his imagination charged with love. Thus he will gain the strength to batter down the curtains of cynical selfishness which keep humanity asleep. By bringing his strivings into harmony with the spiritual forces he can activize his life from above.

The task of the individual is to refuse to be led to the blank wall of nihilism. Every historical crisis is met by a new assertion of the spirit. This power of the spirit enables man to blast the word barriers and mental traps spread by the neo-Machiavellian.

"He will have to create round life an atmosphere that shall be once again serene, shall be luminous, shall be wholesome, an atmosphere wafting an Apollonian spirit of freedom, clarity and order. He must fashion, as it were, a new Olympus, where these titanic emotions will revive in the form of victorious gods, visible and human"

MONSIEUR SPENLE

8

THE mystic aspires to be all things at once. The philosopher wants to be all things by proxy. The true politician wants to be of the world. The cosmic pride helps him to hold in a single thought reality and justice. He becomes the vehicle of dynamic principles. He needs the principles to motivate his action and the principles also need him as a means to realisation.

Lofty ideals belong to solitary souls like Gandhi and Nehru who can fertilize the world of power-politics. It is their tragedy and also their necessary fulfilment to enter this brutish world and act on a cosmic principle.

Bees and birds learn how to make the combs and nests. To deny innate ideas to a community is to betray the blood of the world and its spirituality. To call Gandhi and Nehru anarchists

and the millions who follow them amateurish is a myth built by smug retired civilians, who have learned to hate their neighbours as themselves

The belief that in politics vigour is more important than honesty order than justice and brutalization than beauty that has led the western man to the present confusion and darkness. Possessed by a sense of guilt and fear of freedom he will again create a new and narrow order for himself In the night of frozen stars the flame of freedom burns low and fitfully

The impulse to liberty can rouse thought and enliven belief There is a great deal of tiresome irrelevance in the arguments of historical reactionaries who vainly attempt to deny freedom to a nation. To Indians the concept of nation is a spiritual principle It is a soul. The people have faith in it and are prepared to seal that faith with their blood. Unless there is a common consciousness the demand for nationhood speedily dies. But this feeling has marked the birth of a new heroism. And with its emergence has come a radical fervour which has found expression in direct action

A movement of liberation is neither bad nor unmoral. But its critics grotesquely misrepresent it. When the idea of freedom has reached a reflective level in the mass-mind its realisation becomes past disputing This emotional leaning is now a matter of conscience Gandhi whose

moral competence is undoubted, says "It is my certain conviction that no man loses his freedom except through his own weakness"

Choice influenced by moral sentiments is a supreme fact in political action. It becomes an adopted activity of the soul. Says Gandhi "We must be content to die, if we cannot live as free men and women"

Our political end is already fixed. The time and manner in which it should be implemented is not hard to mark. If sightless ambition of statesmen postpones it then its cause will be vindicated by its own ethical merits

The discontent of mass cannot establish a new order. It requires a determined minority possessed of political initiative. The Soviet Government of Russia, the Fascist Government of Italy and the militarist regime in Spain are cases in point. A dictator seizes the apparatus of power in a crisis and entrenches himself in it even after the crisis is past. Revolution means the break-up of the common will. If it is not restored soon after the revolution then it leads to a counter-revolution. This persistent unsettlement continues till the historical process establishes the foundations of the common will

So long as an active minority agitates to separate from a state to which it is coercively bound the vast unsettlement continues. This nationalistic spirit is absolute, so uncompromising. Its

revolutionary mind feels it a tame affair to oppose in an assembly the government's programmes. Its direct action is the nemesis of conquest. No political solution based on piece-meal reform is possible with such a nationalistic group. The spirit of revolution can be removed when the governing class learns to control itself. Otherwise, oppression becomes not its last resort but its very being. Force always disrupts, never unites things. To hold by force wastes the energies of those who govern. The ideal of democracy should be to transform the dominant will into the common will and not as suggested by a reactionary to "Divide and Quit". The latter is sinister nonsense.

In a society where the large masses are undelivered from the gaunt fears of starvation, force ceases to overawe the individual. It is wisdom for the state to waive aside considerations of prestige and act in its integrity. The imperialist historian Seeley candidly says that India adds to the responsibilities and not to the power of the British Empire. But power grows from co-operation and not from coercion. Solidarity exists now for the purpose of rhetoric. Britain can count upon the spontaneous aid of India if she withdraws from the temptation of power. Coercion can never be a principle of action. The quality that distinguishes a state from a pirate-ship is that the former's compulsion is established and accepted. Therefore force born out of a



fundamental agreement is different from force employed to crush the common will.

Whatever foreigners might say in depreciation of our struggle, we have an ineradicable faith in our leaders and a profound certainty in ourselves. We have strength. And our strength is not the transient strength of mechanized divisions. It is the inner strength of the spirit; a fixed belief in a moral law. We have a readiness to die in the last ditch for our moral preferences.

In this ancient land honest seekers after truth are never denied respect. When mankind is faced with disastrous regression they have appeared on the stage of history and given it a new moral start. So long as our faith in them remains we shall remain a great people.

The pre-eminence of Gandhi and Nehru in the national heart is due to the single heartedness of their patriotism. The love in them breaks loose and floods us. They are serving the country with all their heart and with all their strength. But they are no less fervent in their love for the world and the created life.

The charm of Nehru attracts us; while the vision of Gandhi ennobles us. Gandhi has entered on the threshold of truth. Nehru in his lucid way loves truth. Gandhi's mind soars to an ideal harmony. Nehru has achieved in his life a creative tension. Gandhi is fascinated by

Nehru's fine intellect. Nehru has accepted the validity of Gandhi's mystical insight.

Both have an intense belief in progress, an advance that should combine moral endeavour and material prosperity. But, in Carlyle's phrase, they are opposed to wed truth to the world's untruth. No doubt moral emphasis involves the narrowing of reality. But man loses his native freshness and is self imprisoned if he evades salutary truths.

Nehru's imagination is a blend of space and sympathy. Gandhi's vision is an epitome of universals. The nature of Nehru is stubbornly independent but always self-schooled. His revolt is moral, and modern in its downrightness. The two sides of his temperament pensiveness and frankness shade into one. Gandhi's detachment is a quality of the spirit. This selflessness in temper enables him to smile without bitterness at our follies. Nehru represents a way of feeling and Gandhi a way of life.

In Gandhi truth has martyred itself to the heart and in Nehru it is the epic passion of freedom. They have got into a track strewn with briars and thorns. And their mind is undeflected. When compromise is tempting they would not compromise. Without them we would be a lost atom in a dissolving world.

The voice of Nehru is above nation, above faction. It has warned us that Imperialism is

real even under the mask of democracy. His voice is more arresting for its isolation. Further, his ideas are exquisitely human, all-too-human. Gandhism is a realist faith, a religion of action. Its original tint is that Nature is animate; it speaks to man. That is why, Gandhi shares the misery of all created things. Out of this anguish he will create loveliness: "Beauty fringes with gold the mourning of the violets".

All historical epochs are ugly. But they give birth to some vital personalities. In this age of hatred Gandhi is the apostle of love. To the will-to-power Nehru has counterposed the will-to-freedom. The sacrifice of these patriots is a contagious fire. It kindles myriad fires.

Today the symbols of faith of the western man have crumbled. Europe, like Hellas, is breaking to pieces. The western thinkers are forced into official livery. Live dissentients are marched into the concentration camp. Parochial disputes have made the worshippers of Goethe and Kant look red.

A mutation of mankind in the pacific direction is inevitable. This would essentially be a moral phenomenon. The coming man will not tolerate his isolation from Nature; nor the isolation of mind from matter. Victor Hugo wrote "How foolish art thou who thinkest that I am other than thou". This unity of substance will be a fundamental note.

Humanity is an organism. There is persistent solidarity in it. A new cosmic sentiment can spring from it. It is true that the material energies of mankind are wasted in this war. Its unmined ores of the spirit are still there. Through all the teachings of Gandhi vibrate the tone of cosmic emotion. Like the Upanishad thoughts they sparkle with the dew of dawn.

The seers of the Upanishads were aware of the underlying unity of all being. One intellectual tenet cherished by all was the doctrine of universal immanence. The kernel of monism is thus expressed in the Upanishadic literature "As all the spokes are held together in the hub and felly of the wheel, just so in this soul all things, all Gods, all worlds, all breathing things, all selves are held together"

The thinkers sought to find the true nature of the world of experience and of a beyond that constantly beckoned them. The self known soul was inclusive of the world-soul. Therefore, the final unity was found not outside the self, but in it "As far verily as this world-space extends, so far extends the space within the heart." Again, "One should reverence the thought 'I am the world-all' "

This undifferentenced unity is the thought-product of a larger real self. Only a knowledge of the truth can banish illusion and restore the identity. The truth of ultimate unity is the

highest path and also the highest bliss. This path is

‘ A sharpened edge of a razor, hard to traverse,
A difficult path is this—poets declare’ ”

Only the awakened soul can conquer the everlasting realms of the spirit. The Atman-World is real, ageless, casteless. It is unpierced by evil. It is beyond desire and free from fear. The human soul seeks there autonomy (Svaraj). But the autonomous person submits himself to the moral law.

Gandhi has wafted a few live breaths of the Upanishads into the future. He has often proclaimed that reality is one and diversity is only an appearance. He has ballast his ideal with action. Therefore, Gandhism fulfils the essential needs of the spirit. Gandhi alone can unite the warring nations and their peoples on the holy mount.

"The story of history is the victory of liberty"

CROCE

POST-SCRIPT

FROM Plato to Nehru political thinkers have sought to reconcile the acceptance of authority and the mood of liberty. Even today the issue of liberty remains an unsettled enigma.

The Buddhist monks advocate non-attached good-will. The Grand Tradition of humanism has reached a heroic stature in the teachings of Sam-kara. The sage Confucius, while discrediting the doctrine of the fantastic scamp, has laid stress on social duty. Lao-tze pertinently remarks "Why are the people so restless? Because there is so much government"

The problems discussed in our political forum also agitate the minds of profane men and priests of old. The genius of Heraclitus could not give a convincing reply to the problem—how the excellent should be also the strong? The sophists, the pioneers of How To Increase Mental Efficiency, could teach cleverness and not character.

Socrates, a coffee-house politician, trains the Athenian youth 'to tear arguments like young puppies' but their democratic anger victimizes him. His thoughts are negative and communal, yet provocative and radical. In the spiral ascent of history the radical thought of the Athenian thinkers shines brighter than the wisdom of the pyramid-builders.

The politics of Plato centres round the intensive community. He is singularly innocent of inter-statal relations. Whether Platonism is totalitarian or communistic is still a debatable point. Aristotle has given mankind a compass to political sanity. But he advocates a slave doctrine 'no culture without kitchen maids'. The Stoics are spiritual snobs. To do nothing save on one's own moral choice is their prime maxim.

The uniqueness of the early Christian Fathers is that they declare "the treasure is within". In the grand cycle of history feudalism is a chaotic fact. Breakdown of communications, self-sufficiency and conditional anarchy are its essence. The Renaissance strikes the note of the cult of the individual. It is a non-moral age in the sense it is non-theological. This age of personal tyrannies witnesses the birth of an insipient nationalism.

Machiavelli, Kautilya and Hitler are the chief exponents of power politics. They have brought



men from their pious maxims to their crude nature. They are emphatically students of means and not of ends. They are the theorists of the brave state.

Luther directs his knock-out blows on the Church but gives away liberty as a handsome gift to the Prince. The gnawing problem for Hobbes is "man is to man a wolf" and states are "in the posture of gladiators" and from such chronic violence order should be evolved. According to him, authority is based on fear and not on choice. The Hobbist creed is a cautious variant of tyranny; the cult of the efficient state. To him God and the flying fortresses are synonymous.

The thesis of Locke is that freedom of man lies in the power of control. He argues that man has a natural impulse to freedom. He expressly says that a government resting upon consent alone is free, and all else is despotic. In his view, in no circumstance man should tolerate the intolerable

Montesquieu develops the theory of governmental balance. The belief that the concentration of power in one hand is the essence of tyranny is grounded on this doctrine. Mill firmly denies the right of government and the people to control coercively the expression of opinion. The progress of humanity depends on individual initiative which only flourishes under a regime of political and moral liberty. He confesses that his theory of liberty should be applied to human beings in

the maturity of their faculties. He raises the question of minorities but could not suggest a remedy

The mood connected with the Locke-Jefferson Spencer tradition is 'no government in business'. They identify the forces of reaction with the forces of militarism. They could not contemplate that the extension of security is the surest guarantee of liberty.

Goethe is a pacifist. He stresses that the nourish milk of culture should enrich the human personality. The Goethean view distrusts revolutionary slogans. Curiously enough, Goethe recognises in Napoleon a world-spirit.

The American theorists Madison, Hamilton and Jay have trimmed on the issue the just ratio of liberty and authority. Jefferson regards as a social imperative the amelioration of the masses. He places man at the fount of political truths self-evident and natural. By proclaiming that man is born "equal and independent" he puts the axe to the poison tree of all despotisms. He wishes to keep always alive the spirit of resistance to government. But he enunciates the principle of social democracy in its individualistic form.

Burke is a steady opponent of iron barons and sanguine Caesars. He says "In order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties we are everyday endeavouring to subvert the maxims which preserve the whole spirit of

our own". He regards the slowness of the historical process as a check against radical impatience.

Of institutions and creeds Bentham asks one question only "What utility?" He has given mankind the sacred phrase "the greatest happiness of the greatest number". He holds the view that the pressure of interests is the spring of progress. He echoes the opinion of Jefferson when he says that a government is undespotic which gives facility for resistance to government.

Hegel contends that the free individual is determined by the society. He candidly remarks "Individualism is the hall-mark of the devil" Freedom should realise itself in the march of the state through history. He also emphasises that the world-spirit is superior to particular claims At the summit of all actions stands individuals

The idea and the complex of human passion constitute the web of universal history. The union of the two is liberty The sacrifices that are offered on the vast altar of the earth through the long lapse of ages are inspired by the consciousness of its freedom by the spirit

Nietzsche defines the will-to-power as "the unexhausted procreating life-will". He labels socialism as the younger brother of despotism because it regards the individual as "an unjust luxury of Nature". His contribution to the problem of the individual and the society is only verbal violence

Tolstoi is the foster parent of primitive communism. He observes that the unwashed peasant will not be satisfied with "spectrum analysis", Bakunin describes himself as a seeker without a dogma. He maintains that the basis of all advance is the desire to rebel. Equality is the supreme condition of liberty. He writes "Men of science have neither sense nor heart for individual and living beings". Continuing he says, "Until now all human history has been a perpetual and bloody immolation of millions of poor human beings in honour of some pitiless abstraction—God, country, power of state, political liberty, public welfare devouring abstractions, the vampires of history, ever nourished upon human blood"

The development in civilization has not improved in man the vision of moral good. Rousseau's claim to men's gratitude rests on the fact that he puts the golden age into the future of man. He tries to reconcile justice and interest. There is no liberty without the laws and where anyone is above the laws. He wrongly infers "when the Cross chased away the Eagle all the *valour of Rome departed*." He has the merit of seeing that the religious impulse can never be frustrated.

Fichte holds that the state has a moral function to defend liberty, "Civilization means exercising all forces for the sake of complete freedom"

Treitschke develops the idea of freedom in the state, not from it. He denies Hegel's idea that the state is absolutely the peoples life. First, man should cling to his destiny in eternity: "The state is not the whole of a nation's life, for its function is only to surround the whole, regulating and protecting it" Then the state is only the people as a force. He warns that politics must never discount the free moral forces in the national life.

Spengler asserts that world-history has always passed doom of death upon men and peoples in whom truth is more than deeds, and justice than power Force, the will-to-power, is all, morally, biologically. History therefore is war-history. The distinction between the leaders and the led of life is a plain fact Spengler's crystal gazing foists his prejudices on destiny.

Marx sentimentalises matter But he could not explain how the basis of reality is matter alone? He asserts that there is an imperative moral obligation to wage class-war In the same breath he admits that what alone exists is the predetermined movement of matter. Thus he lands himself in a contradiction Professor Catlin commenting on the Marxian dialectic says "a philosophic changeling is scarcely any legitimate child of philosophy". The materialist interpretation of history has the authentic force of superstition After the classless society is reached what

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happens to the dynamism of history? How equity can be introduced by fanning hatred? What is the position of the middle-class in "the algebra of revolution"? Is the doctrine of class self interest the same as the classless society? Will Stalin agree that Capitalism-Socialism is the thesis and National Socialism the antethesis? A score of these questions flit across our minds. The answer to them lies in the remark of James Bonar Marx never doubts his key will open all locks"

Kautsky advocates social organisation of production but democratic organisation of society. He rightly points out that the masses cannot be organised secretly. For, a secret organization is not a democratic one. A people is unripe for socialism so long as they have no will to it.

Trotsky urges a clear programme of action and faultless internal discipline. He confronts us with a paradox. A revolution destroys the absolute value of the human personality. But this value is created by the revolution. To him revolution is the inspired frenzy of history. The sacredness of the human personality is the "vegetarian prattle". He says that in revolution the highest degree of energy is the highest degree of humanity. There is a tragic note in his words 'Revolution is a great devourer of men and character. It leads the brave to their destruction and destroys the souls of those who are less hardy'

Stalin stands on "creative Marxism" The world revolution is a myth The emotion of national pride is not foreign to the proletariat The classless society is not an equal wage society Says Stalin "Wages shall be paid 'according to the labour performed and not according to need Equalisation in the sphere of consumption and personal life is reactionary petty bourgeois nonsense, worthy of some primitive set of ascetics, but not of a socialist society"

Laski is a pluralist He says "the only real security for social well-being is the free exercise of men's minds Otherwise, assuredly, we have contracted ourselves to slavery" According to him, true socialism is libertarian, and not an authoritarian, socialism. His moral idealism revolts against the strategic significance of violence He accepts the democratic ideal but sadly comments "the essential fact which emerges from the present situation is that the conditions are not present in which such a society can function" He repudiates parliamentary democracy if it becomes an obstacle to the advent of socialism He expressly says that equality is the condition of liberty.

Mussolini's doctrine is based on a violent rejection of pacifism and toleration Fascism is monolithic To the Duce men are weary of liberty. They need bread and circuses He proclaims aloud "Liberty is no longer the virgin,

chaste and severe, fought for by the generations at the beginning of the last century. For the intrepid youths who present themselves at this new dawn of history, there are other words that move them more deeply, such as Order, Hierarchy, Discipline. The goddess of liberty is dead and her body is already putrescent." He argues that personal liberty is not comfortable to the laws of Nature. Liberty reduces people into a degenerate herd. Civilization is the converse of liberty. Writes Mussolini "Fascism repudiates the doctrine of pacifism—born of a renunciation of the struggle and an act of cowardice in the face of sacrifice" In truth, "*Blood alone moves the wheels of history*"

Professor Charles Beard is the advocate of moral equality. He says that liberty has negative and positive connotations. It is protection against arbitrary power as well as the positive enjoyment of rights. These represent the substance and power of freedom. The idea of moral equality is implicit in the conception of human rights and innate goodness. He means by moral equality the nature and manifestations of fundamental characteristics common in all human beings. It is an ethical value, a belief to be nourished. The flame of this faith has never been extinguished.

There is profound truth in Croce's statement that violence can have no status as morality. Systems based on violence are barren. Clubs and

swords are brandished. Scorn and threats are showered. Still the ideal of freedom stands intact. For there is no sounder ideal to replace it and it can never be conceived also. The crisis of the ideal is brought on by a perversion of the moral sense. The chief task before man is to resurrect the ideal and restore life under freedom. He observes "Human society has lived through other periods when moral sentiments have waned and materialism has waxed triumphant, and in every such case it has recovered through a spontaneous rekindling of enthusiasm and idealism, through an ever reblossoming of spiritual exuberance, through the words and examples of apostles aflame with the religious spirit who sooner or later recaptured the ears of men"

Professor Dewey argues that the problem of freedom and of democratic institutions is tied up with the question of what kind of culture exists. He expressly says that whatever are the motive constituents of human nature, the culture of a period is the determining influence in their arrangement. Human nature tends to differentiation. It moves in both the directions of individuality and cooperativeness. Therefore, he ascribes a vital role to culture in solving the coming problem of "freedom of co-operative individualities"

Professor Whitehead points out with striking clearness that the essence of freedom is the prac-

ticability of purpose. The stuff of history is made of general ends, which are fusion of ideal and economic policies. The demand for freedom springs from an urge to achieve these ends. One general end is that the variously co-ordinated groups should contribute to the pattern of community life. Only in this way, "individuality gains the effectiveness which issues from co-ordination, and freedom obtains its power necessary for perfection." Harmony is the height of existence. And it must issue forth in the reconciliation of freedom with the compulsion of the truth.

Professor Mannheim contends that the traditional principle of 'laissez faire', applied in an era of mass society, leads to chaos. He has thrown light on the problem of freedom in an age of highly developed social technique. Half hearted social techniques will result in the enslavement of mankind, fully considered techniques will lead to a higher level of freedom. The problem of freedom has been one of the most recurrent in the philosophy of man. The conception of freedom in general terms without reference to the concrete historical situation is naive.

He rightly argues that the distinction between free and authoritarian organisation can be seen in the methods of regulating collective action. In the former, "freedom consists in a clear definition of the spheres where complete freedom of action

is possible, and of democratic control over the rules governing the regulated spheres." Hereafter one should reject the notion of absolute freedom and think what form of freedom is possible in a given social setting. Freedom should mean not so much freedom of action but the possibility of self-expression. It can exist if there is a continual give and take of emotions, an emotional harmony based on a common outlook. This again is the product of a spontaneous discussion of situations and events.

Technique has freed man from the tyranny of Nature but has subjected him to social coercion. Thus it has produced a new form of determinism. Therefore the social relationships should be grasped in their totality and controlled. The interaction of social forces should be influenced from key positions, according to a definite plan. This means we should lose our former liberties and gain control of the entire social environment. A higher form of freedom is possible if men strive to regulate the social relationships with a view to secure the collective freedom of the group in accordance with a democratically recognised plan.

Julian Huxley feels that life may attain to new levels of achievement and experience. Without the guidance and control of science civilization will either stagnate or collapse. Human nature can realise its possible evolutionary destiny if

science is put in its rightful place in the humanist scheme. Science must beware of trying to become a dictator, the other human activities must beware of the prejudice which would banish the upstart from their affairs.

Huxley believes in diversity. It is not only the salt of life but the basis of collective achievement. He concludes "The only faith that is both concrete and convincing is in life, its abundance and its progress."

Bernard Shaw bluntly says that either man should engender the Super man, adapted to the social life and the scientific world, or, yield his place to species of less gross nature. Life has created mouse and man. These species are admirable attempts to fashion the brute force of life into individuals approaching perfection. Even the God of Shaw is on the evolutionary path of creating Himself. Only when the earth is peopled with Goethes and Shelleys, it will engender a God. The world of the Shavian patriarchs is neo-Platonic, 'no people, only thought'. Men should discard their carnal delights as they have discarded their tails.

Tagore and Sarojini are pure poets, who have revealed a new aspect of truth and a new aspect of freedom. They have an intuitive possession of the vast idea of liberty. It is a means to endure our mortal destiny. The linking of liberty and moral advance is fundamental to their thought.

The moral quality which breathes in their words is forgiveness, a forgiveness which condones not only the pains which men inflict on men, but the pains which are knit up in the very nature of human existence. The most urgent of human problems is the achievement of true personality. To conceive it in the chilling atmosphere of servitude is to conceive it wrongly.

The inward and spiritual history of the human soul is passionately sung by Tagore. He sees at the core of democracy the religious element. He has imposed himself on the memory of mankind because he is the prophet of democracy. One lesson India can send over to the western shores by every breeze is "Those who have built their power on moral cynicism are themselves proving its victims".

Like all great poets Sarojini is willing to endure an agony, to be burned in the flames of suffering. The full illumination of her patriotism and the keenness of the struggle that is tearing her soul are mirrored in this poem:

*O young through all thy immemorial years
Rise, Mother, rise, regenerate from thy gloom
And, like a bride high-mated with the spheres,
Beget new glories from thine ageless womb!*

*The nations that in fettered darkness weep
Crave thee to lead them where great mornings break .
Mother, O Mother, wherefore dost thou sleep?
Rise and answer for thy children's sake*

*Thy future calls thee with a manifold sound
To crescent honours, splendours, victories vast,
Waken, O slumbering mother, and be crowned,
Who once wert empress of the sovereign past*

It is almost a sacrilege to analyse words so haunting, so lovely, so poignant. They are treasured in our hearts for ever as the voice of one of the sweetest and bravest spirits that this land has engendered, the voice of one who is beyond censure and beyond pride

Says Sarojini "Love shall cancel the ancient wrongs and conquer the ancient rage" This sentence is of cardinal importance. To a wronged race she has come as a comforter

The genius of Radhakrishnan is an innate universality. Moral values at all costs, even though one dies for his loyalty to it, is written on the heart of this true philosopher. He says "I have every confidence in the power of love to evoke the right change". According to him, it is futile to transform political institutions without transforming mankind. He vindicates man's freedom to perceive and create spiritual beauty against the cold inhumanity that has chilled a century. Love alone can sweep men into new courses of life.

He is possessed with the conviction that by enduring pain man shows the triumph of mind over matter, and the suffering a means for growth in grace. How splendid is this utterance "The musk is in the deer but it thinks that the fragrance comes from outside and so hunts for it restlessly. God is in us and we only have to turn within to realise the truth"

His thought has a fluid character, the effect of the waving oaks in the wind. "It would be indeed strange if the spirit of the Upanishads, the Gita and the Dialogues of Buddha, that could touch the mind to such fine issues, should have lost its power over man. . . One cannot tell what flowers may yet bloom, what fruits may yet ripen on the nardy old trees".

Nehru is a socialist in the sense that his economics aims at an egalitarian society, achieved by economic redistribution and control. His socialism is specifically of the non-Marxian variety as it is opposed to class-war and authoritarianism. He is an instance in point to show that one can be a socialist without believing in violent methods and totalitarian control. He believes that the conflict between authority and liberty can be resolved by adopting the federal technique. He holds that creative leadership should not aim at the mere conquest of power but the conquest of power for humanity. In this sense, he has the vision of the dynamic end

Nehru knows that freedom is a final value good in itself. It is a datum in our nature. It is also the basis of human dignity. He has urged that it should be restricted on the economic side. Tyranny then is unrestricted individualism. Group domination is as tyrannical as the exaltation of naked force. The ending of tyranny will be a rhetorical flourish till a world state is evolv-

ed. Then only pacifist co-ordination of interests would be a reality

Gandhi is a democrat, he upholds the common man, who ploughs in the field and breaks stones on the road side. He has little affection for super men, experts and over intellectualized persons who lack mental honesty. Today men's hopes are withered. Gandhi infers that the present crisis in human affairs is a moral crisis brought on by a repudiation of moral values.

Gandhi is a realist, brilliantly so. He has broken away with the external realities. The soul is the only living reality. With his feet firmly planted on earth he visualises the serene skies of a spiritual dawn. These skies are fringed with "the first green bands of undying hope". This vision subsumes vaster realities and becomes philosophy. If redemption of man can be achieved through the instrumentality of poison gas and high explosives then Gandhism is idealist bubble blowing.

Gandhi is an optimist, who attributes man's fear to the mask that is suffocating him. His Utopia is founded on humility, so it is indestructible. Empires are built on might, and for that reason crumble. The great gap in his mind is the lack of attachment to his soil, his people. He is a universalist.

Gandhi is the everlasting. He maintains that determinism, militarism and materialism are so

many forms of suicide Will is a fact Pacifism is a wonderful tool Spirituality implies a rush of life Ethicize politics The Gandhian way is as old as the hills He sees the humanist tradition as the shining light Gandhi's triumph is precisely this—that by his ethical and affirmative vision he can redefine the old values and recreate a living world